

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 PARIS 05245 221740Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01  
DHA-02 TRSE-00 /061 W  
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R 221740Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9944  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR PINT FR US SHUM  
SUBJECT: SOVIET DISSIDENTS: GISCARD REFUSES TO SEE  
AMALRIK

REF: PARIS 5168 (NOTAL)

1. SOVIET DISSIDENT ANDRE AMALRIK KNOCKED ON THE DOOR OF THE FRENCH PRESIDENT'S PALACE FEBRUARY 21, AND WAS TURNED AWAY. HE HAD SENT A TELEGRAM FROM AMSTERDAM FEBRUARY 16 REQUESTING AN AUDIENCE WITH PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING. A REPLY WAS SENT SUGGESTING THAT HE CONSULT WITH MR. FRANCOIS BEAUCHATEAU, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN THE BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE ON THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT.

2. MR. AMALRIK REFUSED TO TAKE NO FOR AN ANSWER. HE  
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PAGE 02 PARIS 05245 221740Z

ARRIVED IN PARIS FEBRUARY 19 AND APPEARED AT THE GATES OF THE ELYSEE PALACE TWO DAYS LATER. PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING WAS ON A SHORT SKI HOLIDAY IN THE ALPS. AMALRIK DEPOSITED A PERSONAL LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT REQUESTING RECONSIDERATION OF HIS REQUEST FOR AN AUDIENCE. HE TOLD MEDIA INTERVIEWERS AFTERWARD THAT HE HOPED TO SEE GISCARD OR OTHER HIGH-LEVEL GOF OFFICIALS. A

MEETING WITH MR. BEAUCHATEAU WOULD NOT BE AT A HIGH ENOUGH LEVEL TO DRAMATIZE THE SITUATION OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS, MR. AMALRIK WAS QUOTED AS SAYING.

3. FRENCH MEDIA HAVE GIVEN THE AMALRIK AFFAIR CONSIDERABLE PUBLICITY. SO FAR THE REPORTING HAS BEEN MOSTLY FACTUAL, WITH LITTLE COMMENT FOR OR AGAINST GISCARD'S REFUSAL TO SEE AMALRIK. ALL ARTICLES HIGHLIGHT THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S AGREEMENT TO RECEIVE BUKOVSKI AND GISCARD'S REFUSAL TO SEE AMALRIK. FRANCE'S TWO COMMERCIAL RADIO STATIONS, RTL AND EUROPE ONE, EXPLAINED THIS DIFFERENCE BY SAYING THAT UNLIKE THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE COULD NOT AFFORD TO ANGER THE SOVIETS. FOR BOTH INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS AND COMMERCIAL REASONS, THE GOF NEEDS DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THE RADIO ANALYSTS DECLARED. IF GISCARD WERE TO RECEIVE AMALRIK, THE SOVIETS WOULD CANCEL BREZHNEV'S PLANNED VISIT (REFTEL) AND WOULD TAKE THEIR BUSINESS ELSEWHERE, THEY ADDED.

4. THE ONLY MILD CRITICISM OF GISCARD'S ACTION WAS EXPRESSED IN A FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL IN THE LEFT-LEANING QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS HEADLINED "GISCARD IS HIDING FROM AMALRIK." THE EDITORIAL SAID THAT BY REFUSING TO SEE AMALRIK, GISCARD HAS CHOSEN POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY OVER PRINCIPLE. THIS CHOICE IS POLITICALLY RISKY IN VIEW OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS COMING UP IN TWO WEEKS, THE ARTICLE SAID, AND PEOPLE WHO DISAPPROVE ARE LIKELY TO MANIFEST THEIR VIEWS THROUGH THEIR VOTES.

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PAGE 03 PARIS 05245 221740Z

5. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH PUBLICITY IS HEAVY, POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE SO FAR NOT ATTEMPTED TO EXPLOIT THIS ISSUE AGAINST GISCARD OR HIS MAJORITY COALITION. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT AMALRIK HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO MEET WITH THE CENTRIST GROUP IN THE FRENCH SENATE FEBRUARY 24, THEREBY ASSURING AN EXTENSION OF HIS PUBLIC EXPOSURE HERE.

RUSH

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** REPORTS, MEETINGS, DISSIDENT FACTIONS  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, SHUM, FR, US, (GISCARD D'ESTAING, VALERY), (AMALRIK, ANDRE)  
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**Type:** TE  
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